

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CLASSICAL
ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF
THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND

MANAGING EDITORS

FRANK J. MILLER
The University of Chicago

ARTHUR T. WALKER
The University of Kansas

For New England

CHARLES D. ADAMS
Dartmouth College

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

GEORGE H. CHASE
Harvard University

DANIEL W. LOTHMAN
East High School, Cleveland, O.

F. C. EASTMAN
State University of Iowa

WALTER MILLER
Tulane University of Louisiana

CLARENCE W. GLEASON
Volkman School, Boston

JOHN J. SCHLICHER
Indiana State Normal School

JOHN A. SCOTT
Northwestern University

VOLUME VII

1911-12

The University of Chicago Press
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Published
October, November, December, 1911
January, February, March, April, May, June, 1912

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.



THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME VII

OCTOBER 1911

NUMBER 1

Editorial

A NEW FEATURE

For some time past the desirability has been felt by those interested in the *Classical Journal* of the establishment of a foreign correspondence by which our readers may receive from time to time a fresh and reliable presentation of events and tendencies in England and on the Continent of interest to classical students. After a due consideration of available men, we have succeeded in securing the services of two scholars whose occasional letters from England and Germany respectively will prove of much interest and value. Our correspondent for England will be Mr. W. E. P. Pantin, of London, assistant master in St. Paul's School, member of the council of the Classical Association and secretary of its Curriculum Committee, secretary also of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology. Our correspondent for Germany will be Dr. Paul Cauer, *Provinzial-Schulrat* and professor in Münster, whose prominence and vigor as a writer and worker in the classics make his service to us a real acquisition. We hope to publish initial instalments from these contributors at an early date.

THE NORTH CENTRAL ASSOCIATION AND UNIFORM ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS IN LATIN

The attention of our readers has recently been called to the unfortunate fact that two great bodies, working independently, have appointed committees on uniform requirements in Latin, which committees have published separate and more or less different reports. The first committee, or commission, was appointed

in 1908 by the American Philological Association, and its report was presented and adopted by the Association a year later, in 1909. The full history and report of this commission was published in the *Classical Journal* for February, 1910. Meanwhile, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, through its commission, had been working out its definitions for admission units in all departments, and these were published in the *Report* of the Commission on Associated Schools and Colleges for 1910.

Inasmuch as the Philological Association's report for Latin had been first promulgated and by a body representing the classical interests of the entire country, and inasmuch as its definitions had already been widely adopted, the desirability of substituting this definition for its own was presented to the Commission of the North Central Association. Accordingly, at its spring meeting in Chicago, the latter association did, with admirable courtesy, vote to make the proposed substitution of definitions in Latin, and another long step was taken toward uniformity in Latin admission requirements.

A NEW CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

Under the department of "Current Events" in this number we publish an account of the organization of the Classical Association of the Pacific Northwest, a movement of prime interest to those who have the general good of the classics at heart. We most heartily welcome this new organization to the brotherhood of classical associations and wish them all success, rejoicing that the strength and enthusiasm of the vigorous Northwest has been organized in this cause. This makes practically complete the organization of the classical forces of the whole United States, an advance which has only to be compared with the condition of things of even ten years ago to be realized in its full importance.

THE INFLUENCE OF LOCAL THEATRICAL CONDITIONS UPON THE DRAMA OF THE GREEKS¹

BY ROY C. FLICKINGER
Northwestern University

We are now passing through a period of great interest in the drama. So far as this interest is hysterical or evidenced by attempts at play-writing on the part of those without training, experience, or natural aptitude, it has little to commend it. But, on the other hand, nothing can be more wholesome than a widespread comprehension of the origin, history, and basic principles of tragedy and comedy. Thus we are deeply indebted to the successive scholars who have undertaken to analyze Elizabethan tragedy and assign to Seneca, Aristotle, the Greek playwrights, and the various mediaeval elements their respective shares of influence. As the ultimate source of all other dramatic art, the Greeks' contribution whether in precept or example must ever occupy a peculiar position. And the fact that Greek drama discloses complete dependence upon and reaction to local theatrical conditions may come with a shock of surprise even to many professed classical students. In developing this thesis it is not my purpose to attempt the discovery of any new results, but partly to call attention to the recent work of specialists in the field, partly to point out the frequently unobserved significance of several features of the ancient drama, and finally to arrange under one co-ordinating principle several phenomena which are usually regarded as unrelated.

It is well known that in the earliest extant Greek plays such as the *Suppliants*, *Persians*, and *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus the scene is laid in the open countryside with no house in sight and with no scenic accessories except an altar, tomb, or rock respectively. But that this circumstance was explicable by the character of the Athenian theater did not become evident until Dörpfeld's excava-

¹ Read before the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Chicago, April 30, 1910.

tions on that site in 1886, 1889, and 1895. It seems that from 499 B.C. until about 465 B.C. the theater at Athens consisted of an orchestral circle nearly eighty feet in diameter and somewhat south of the present orchestra, and an auditorium arranged partly about it on the Acropolis slope. Immediately south of the orchestra was a six-foot declivity, which prevents our supposing the erection of a scene building or backscene there. Only within the orchestra itself, at the center or to one side, might there be constructed for temporary use some such theatrical "property" as an altar or tomb. That such a primitive theater would suffice for the needs of that or even a later period is proved by the remains of the structure at Thoricus, which was never brought to a higher state of development, and by the fact that even at a later period dramatists sometimes voluntarily reverted to this unpretentious stage setting, as in Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus*. Consequently, it was inevitable that playwrights of the early fifth century in choosing an imaginary scene for their plays should react to conditions such as I have just described, and normally localize the dramatic action in more or less deserted spots.

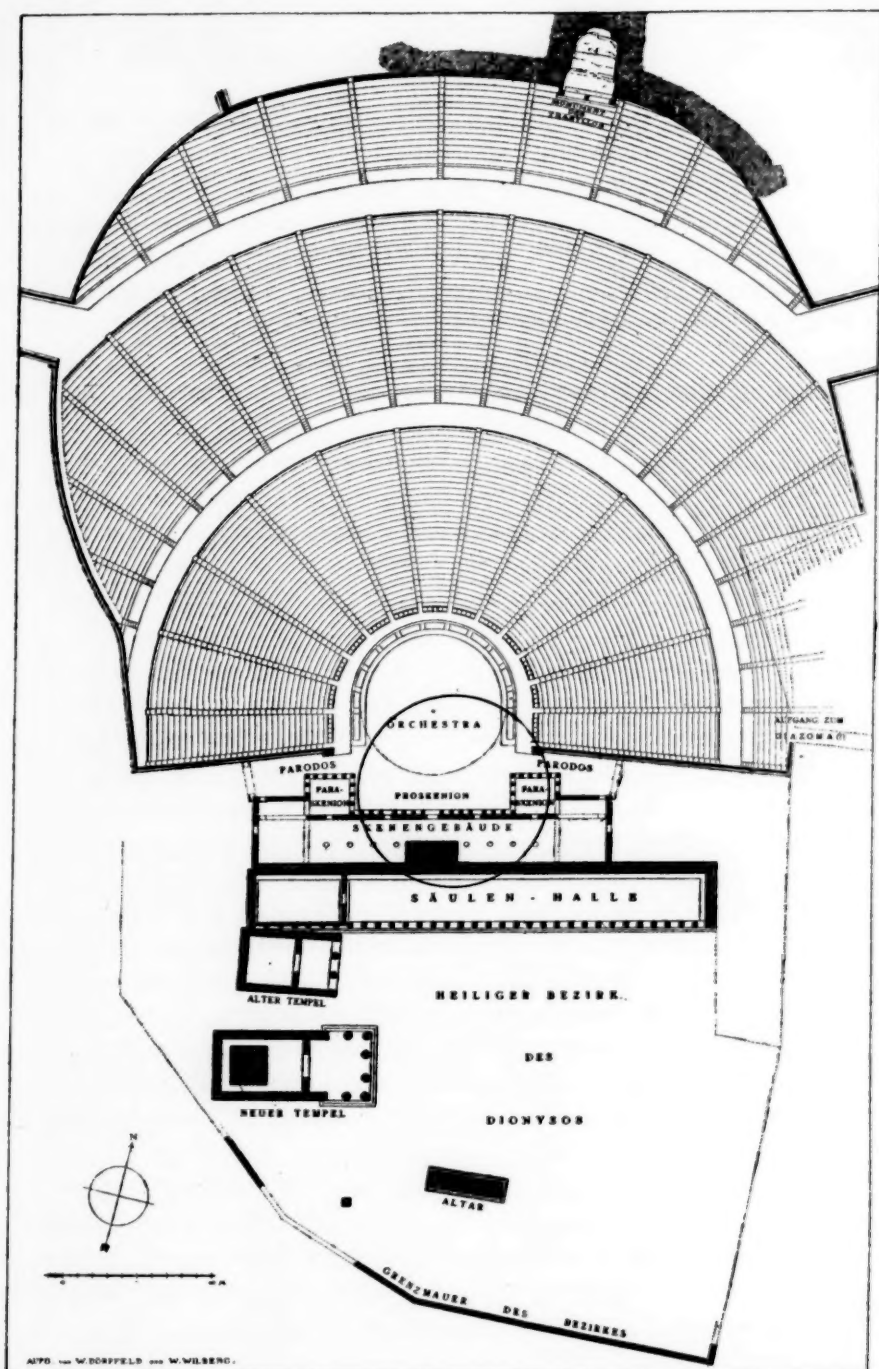
About 465 B.C. an advance step in theatrical conditions was taken when a scene building in the form of a temple or palace from which the actors might make their entrances (as well as by the side approaches, as previously) was erected immediately behind the orchestra, where the declivity had previously been. This improvement enabled Aeschylus to introduce a distinct innovation in dramatic technique. Heretofore, death scenes had either been boldly enacted before the spectators' eyes—something always alien to the Greek aesthetic sense—or reported by a messenger; Aeschylus is said to have invented the very effective device of having a character killed behind the scenes during the play. From what was said in the last paragraph it will be understood that the failure of Aeschylus' predecessors to avail themselves of this expedient was due to no lack of inventive genius on their part but simply to the entire absence in their time of a backscene to use for the purpose. It is not known just how long it took Aeschylus to discover this possibility in the new arrangements; but it was certainly not later than the *Oresteia* (458 B.C.), in which Agamemnon's

agonized death cries from behind the scenes still have power to move deeply even modern audiences.¹

One of the most troublesome problems that confront a playwright is inventing plausible motives to explain the entrances and exits of his characters. And though in the interior scene moderns have a marvelously flexible instrument for shifting personages on and off the scene, few can avoid abusing this resource and can repeat Bernard Shaw's boast: "My people get on and off the stage without requiring four doors to a room which in real life would have only one." To the ancient writer the difficulty was still greater; for, though it was fairly easy to motivate a person's coming once to such secluded places as are chosen for the scenes of the three tragedies above cited, a reappearance would prove a more difficult matter, and each additional character complicated the problem still further. Even after the erection of a scene building the situation was only slightly improved, and no further advance (from this point of view) was subsequently made in the theatrical arrangements. All the dramatic personages still had to come to the same (usually a public) place; they could not dodge in at one door and out at another at their creator's caprice, but whether entering or leaving had to walk a considerable distance in plain view of the spectators. Consequently, the ancient dramatist not infrequently frankly abandoned all search for a solution and left the actor standing in idleness during a whole scene or choral ode. Thus, in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* Danaus enters the orchestra with the chorus consisting of his daughters and remains at the altar, without a single word to say, during their parodos of one hundred and seventy-five lines. After a short scene the king appears, and then for over two hundred lines (234-479) Danaus is again ignored. But it was not characteristic of the Greek genius tamely to submit to hindrances, and accordingly we are not surprised that Aeschylus actually secured a striking dramatic effect by leaving characters like Niobe and Achilles for considerable intervals speechless and immovable on the scene. When finally uttered, their startling cries of anguish were greatly enhanced by their previous long-continued silence.²

¹ Cf. *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XL (1909), 109 ff.

² Cf. Dignan, *The Idle Actor in Aeschylus* (1905).



PLAN OF THE PRECINCT OF DIONYSUS ELEUTHEREUS AT ATHENS AND OF ITS FOURTH-CENTURY THEATER

The heavy circle shows the position of the orchestra constructed in 499 B.C. (From Dörpfeld and Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, slightly altered.)

It may not be amiss to note that Molière obtained similar suspense by means quite opposite. In *Tartuffe*, contrary to all the accepted rules, the principal character does not appear upon the scene until after the beginning of the third act. But the conversation and disputes of the other dramatic personages have so inflamed our curiosity concerning him that we can scarcely wait to catch a glimpse of him, and his entrance finally is thrice as effective as if it had come earlier in the play.

It need not be said that the same difficulty of plausible motivation puzzled the comic as well as the tragic writers of antiquity, and they extricated themselves with no less ingenuity in their own way. For the further unfolding of the plot in Plautus' *Pseudolus* it became necessary that that crafty slave should explain to his accomplices certain developments which had already been represented on the scene. Actually to repeat the facts would have been tedious to the spectators, while to motive an exit for all the parties concerned until the information could be imparted and then to motive their re-entrance might have proved difficult and certainly would have caused an awkward pause in the action. The poet, therefore, chose the bolder course of dropping for the moment all dramatic illusion and at the same time of slyly poking fun at the conventions of his art:

horum causa haec agitur spectatorum fabula:

hi [sc. spectatores] sciunt qui hic adfuerunt; uobis post narrauero (720 f.)—meaning that, if only the audience has all requisite information, the dramatic characters may well go without.

With the scenic arrangements already described and in the absence of a stage and drop curtain the dramatic action was necessarily laid in the open air—usually before a palace or temple. No interior scene could possibly be represented except by the clumsy *ἐκκύκλημα* and several indirect expedients, of which the most common was the messenger's speech. A third evasion of the restriction occurs in the *Hippolytus* (564 ff.), where Phaedra listens at the door to a conversation between her confidential slave and Hippolytus within doors and by her cries and exclamations stirs the audience much more profoundly than the conversation itself could have done. Still again, the dramatists of the New Comedy

were fond of representing a character in the act of passing through a doorway and shouting back parting injunctions to those within—an artifice which is sufficiently transparent and is justly ridiculed by the poet himself in Terence's *Andria* (490 ff.). Of course, the mildness of a southern climate justifies some practices which might seem strange to more northern peoples, as when Strepsiades and his son in Aristophanes' *Clouds* are disclosed sleeping before their home in the open air, though we have no reason to believe that they are either actual or prospective victims of tuberculosis. Doubtless this difference in weather conditions has something to do with the fact that modern playwrights of the classic school, who, though freed from the material restrictions of the ancients, have yet slavishly imitated them in so much else, have not followed them in this partiality for alfresco scenes.

The difficulty inherent in the theatrical arrangements is seen very strikingly in Euripides' *Cyclops*. Here the action would naturally take place in Polyphemus' cave (as it does in the *Odyssey*); but, that being impossible, the scene is laid before the cave's entrance. Contrary to verisimilitude, therefore, the poet is obliged to allow Odysseus to pass in and out without let or hindrance. Why, then, does Odysseus make no attempt to escape? Euripides anticipated this query and explained Odysseus' remaining by regard for his companions' safety (479 ff.). But we are not informed why it was not equally feasible for his comrades to leave the cave and for all to be saved together. Similarly, Antigone informs Ismene that she has summoned her out of doors in order to speak with her alone (Sophocles' *Antigone* 18 f.)—as if the street were the most natural place in the world for a *tête-a-tête*!¹ The fact is that the demands of this restriction not infrequently exceeded the playwrights' powers, when they would abandon all attempts to explain their characters' movements and coolly allow them to leave their dwellings and without apology to speak of the most confidential matters in a public place.

Nevertheless, in general they displayed an amazing fertility of

¹ Similarly Plautus *Aulularia* 133 f.:

eo nunc ego secreto ted huc foras seduxi,
ut tuam rem ego tecum hic loquerer familiarem.

invention in this particular, as a few illustrations will suffice to show. In the *Alcestis* Apollo explains his leaving Admetus' palace on the ground of the pollution which a corpse would bring upon all within the house (Euripides' *Alcestis* 22 f.), and Alcestis herself, though in a dying condition, fares forth to look for the last time upon the sun in heaven (*ibid.* 206). Oedipus is so concerned in the afflictions of his subjects that he cannot endure making inquiries through a servant but comes forth to learn the situation in person (Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* 6 f.). Karion is driven out of doors by the smoke of sacrifice upon the domestic altar (Aristophanes' *Plutus* 821 f.). In Plautus' *Mostellaria* (1 ff.) one slave is driven out of doors by another as the result of a quarrel. Agathon cannot compose his odes in the winter time, unless he bask in the sunlight (Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* 67 f.). The love-lorn Phaedra teases for light and air (Euripides' *Hippolytus* 181). And Medea's nurse apologizes for her soliloquizing before the house with the excuse that the sorrows within have stifled her and caused her to seek relief by proclaiming them to earth and sky (Euripides' *Medea* 56 ff.). The last pretext is often employed, and it would be interesting to know how far it is a mere expository convention and how far it reproduces an innate feeling for and sympathy with nature among the ancients. For myself, I fear that our commentators have pressed the latter explanation unduly, and my scepticism is confirmed by the fact that Philemon ridiculed this common theatrical practice,

non ego item facio ut alios in comoediis
 <ui> uidi amoris facere, qui aut Nocti aut Dii
 aut Soli aut Lunae miseras narrant suas,¹

and elsewhere represented a boastful cook appealing to heaven and earth, in words which are a close parody of this *Medea* passage, to witness the excellence of his *cuisinerie* (Meineke IV, 26).

As a final illustration of the artificiality of the exterior scene I may refer to the manner in which characters are brusquely called

¹ Cf. Plautus' *Mercator* 3 ff. The question may fairly be raised whether these lines from the prologue as well as the body of the play are derived from the Greek original. Leo, at least, considers them "gut attisch" (*Plautinische Forschungen*, 136) and Philemon's parody above cited lends confirmation to this view.

out of their homes to meet the demands of the dramatic situation. Thus, in the *Iphigenia at Aulis* a messenger enters and unceremoniously shouts to his queen within doors

ὦ Τυνδαρεία παῖ, Κλυταιμῆστρα, δόμων
ἔξω πέρασον, ὡς κλύης ἐμῶν λόγων (1532 f.),

and in the *Heraclidae* Iolaus summons Alcmena,

ὦ μήτηρ ἐσθλοῦ παιδός, Ἀλκμήνην λέγω,
ἔξελθ', ἄκουσον τούσδε φιλάτους λόγους (642 f.).

To judge by such a dramatic expedient, one would suppose that the front walls of ancient houses must have been pretty thin! Perhaps the most amusing instance of this convention occurs in Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*. In that play a slave had to be deluded into believing that two women of identical appearance lived in adjoining houses. Accordingly, he is sent first into one house and then into the other, while directions are shouted to the one woman in question to pass back and forth by means of a secret passage so as always to meet him (523 ff.). This, of course, presupposes that the walls will be thin enough for the woman to hear through but too thick for the slave to do so!

The publicity thus inevitably attending conversations of the most private nature was rendered still more incongruous by the chorus. If the exits and entrances of actors were difficult to motivate, those of the chorus were ten times worse—in fact, they were so difficult that the thing was, as we shall presently see, very rarely attempted, and the chorus was normally left uninterruptedly upon the scene to hear and see all that was said and done. How unnatural this was can be realized in Euripides' *Bacchae*, in which Pentheus arrested Dionysus and took active measures against the Bacchantes upon Mount Cithaeron and yet allowed a band of the new god's devotees (and foreigners at that) to remain practically unmolested before his palace throughout the play. What a baneful effect it had upon any complication of plot can readily be imagined. Thus, theatrical conditions forced Medea to take the chorus into her confidence, and she bases her request for their silence upon the bond of their common sex. But it is so utterly improbable that any such consideration would cause Greek women to acquiesce in a

barbarian's plans for the assassination of their sovereign's daughter that Professor Verrall¹ supposes a chorus to have been mechanically added in a subsequent revision (our present text) to a play originally written for private presentation without a chorus! Elsewhere the actor's confidence in the chorus' secrecy is more plausibly explained; as when Greek slaves because of racial ties and the promise of rescue betray their barbarian masters in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* and *Helena* in order to aid their fellow-countrywomen. Finally, this constant presence of the chorus is especially awkward in scenes like that in Euripides' *Ion* (1520 ff.), where two actors wish to speak to one another privately. Their confidences must be uttered loud enough to be heard by the 17,000 spectators, but the near-by chorus catches not a word!

The dramatic unities are a subject of perennial interest and have recently been entertainingly discussed by Professor Brander Matthews.² Perhaps I ought to say, however, that my own conclusions were formed long before the appearance of his article,³ and indeed the essential facts were recognized at least as long ago as the time of the German critic Lessing (1767).⁴ But so deep-rooted is the popular impression that the Greeks formulated these rules arbitrarily and observed them slavishly that no attempt to state the true situation can be superfluous. The current doctrine is based on the fact that the classic dramatists in France, Spain, and Italy blindly obeyed the rules as a heritage of the past, without regard to the demands of the theater at their own disposal; and, consequently, the inference has been easily and naturally drawn that the ancient practice was equally irrational.

But in the Greek theater, where there was no drop curtain, no scenery to shift, and a chorus almost continuously present, a change of scene was difficult to indicate visually. Nevertheless, Aristotle nowhere mentions the unity of place, and the Greek dramatists not infrequently violate it. The most familiar instances

¹ Cf. *Four Plays of Euripides*, 125-30.

² Cf. *Atlantic Monthly*, CV (1910), 347 ff.

³ Cf. *Chicago Record-Herald*, October 23, 1908.

⁴ Cf. *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, 369 (Miss Zimmern's trans.).

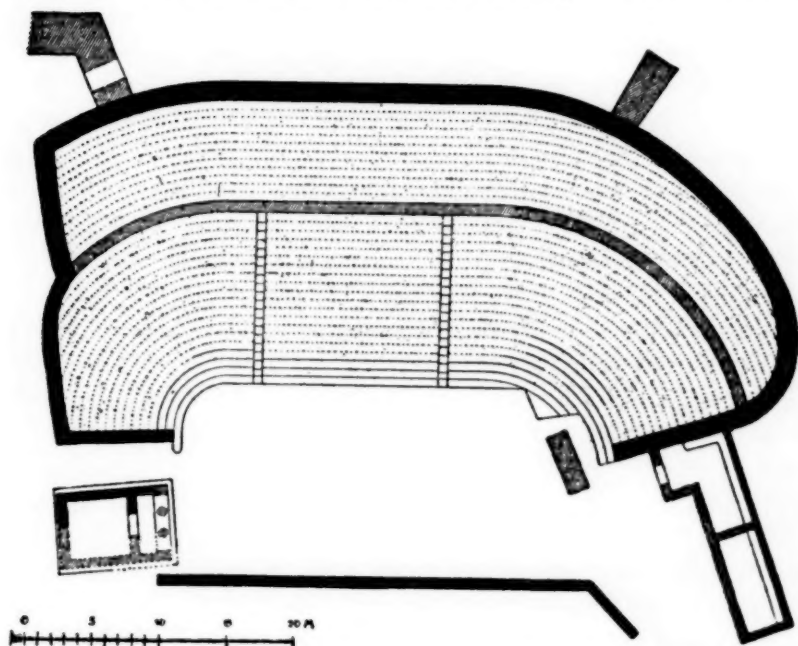
occur in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Sophocles' *Ajax*.¹ The former play opens at the temple of Apollo in Delphi, whither the avenging Furies have pursued Orestes after his mother's murder. During a momentary lapse from their watchfulness Orestes makes his escape, but the Furies soon awaken and take up the trail once more. The scene is thus left entirely vacant and is supposed to change to Athens, where all parties presently appear for the famous trial before the Council of the Areopagus. The beginning of the latter play takes place before Ajax' tent, and Sophocles wished to introduce the very unusual motive of a death scene enacted before the audience. As the presence of the chorus was an insuperable obstacle to such a theme, Ajax was allowed to leave the scene and, suspicion being soon aroused, the chorus was sent in search of him. Thus, the scene is again entirely deserted by both actors and chorus, and Ajax returns not to his tent but to some lonely spot near the seashore. This was by far the most natural and logical method of leading up to a change of scene, was infinitely superior to Shakespeare's practice in *King Henry V*, where Chorus is introduced in the prologue of each act to acquaint the spectators with the scene of the succeeding action,² but was so difficult to motivate that only some half a dozen examples are known to us in the whole Greek drama. On the other hand, such a technical device was usually not well adapted to represent considerable shifts of scene, since it would seem unnatural for so large a body of persons as the chorus always to accompany the dramatic characters to widely separated localities. To this general restriction, however, the *Eumenides* furnishes a brilliant exception, because it was the especial duty of the Furies to track the guilty Orestes wherever he might flee. In Old Comedy, ever fantastic and intentionally impossible, greater freedom was naturally allowed than in tragedy,³ so that in Aristophanes' *Frogs* no less than five different scenes are successively required.

¹ Cf. Felsch, *Quibus artificiiis adhibitis poetae tragici Graeci unitates illas et temporis et loci observaverint* (1907).

² Similarly in *The Winter's Tale* Time as the chorus announces the passage of sixteen years between Acts III and IV.

³ Cf. Krause, *Quaestiones Aristophaneae Scaenicae* (1903).

At the same time, the need of such scene-shifting was largely obviated by the devices already mentioned—the ἐκκύκλημα, the messenger's speech, and the arbitrary transfer of interior scenes to the open air. But very commonly this unity was observed by conventionally bringing together as close neighbors structures or localities which would actually be separated by considerable inter-



PLAN OF THE THEATER AT THORICUS IN ATTICA, DATING FROM THE FIFTH CENTURY

The orchestra is bounded by a retaining wall; there is nothing to show that permanent scene buildings were ever erected. (From Dörpfeld and Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*.)

vals. Thus, the tomb of Agamemnon would naturally stand at some distance from his palace, and incidental statements in the plays confirm this view; nevertheless, in Aeschylus' *Choephori* palace and tomb stand within a few feet of each other. Exactly the same sort of incongruous juxtaposition occurs also in Euripides' *Helena*, and many similar instances could be cited. Slightly different but no less efficacious is the method of procedure in the

Persians. For dramatic effect Aeschylus wished to introduce the ghost of Darius which, according to ancient notions on the subject, could not wander far from its tomb. But the real grave of Darius was probably at Persepolis, and under the conditions supposed the Persian elders, the royal messenger, and Xerxes himself would not naturally resort thither. Consequently, without the slightest compunction, Aeschylus transferred the dead monarch's tomb to Susa! Since several dramatic expedients subserved the unity of time as well as that of place, consideration of them will be deferred until that topic is reached. In concluding this paragraph I may mention one especially amusing artifice—in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* Orestes has left the scene and is now supposed to be some distance away. Notwithstanding, Athena (the *deus ex machina*) addresses him and apologetically adds: "For, though absent, you hear my voice, since I am a goddess" (1447).

Likewise, the unity of time arose not from the whim of ancient writers but from the same theatrical arrangements which resulted in the unity of place, viz., the absence of a drop curtain and the continuous presence of the chorus. Under these conditions an intermission for the imaginary lapse of time could be secured only by the withdrawal of the chorus—a difficult and rarely feasible expedient, as already explained—and without such intermissions the constant and long-continued presence of the same persons in the same place without food or slumber involved a patent absurdity. It is true that the choral songs were roughly equivalent to the modern intermission and that after them the action is often farther advanced than the actual time required for chanting them would warrant. Thus, during a single stasimon of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (ll. 524-99) the Argive king must leave the scene, summon his subjects to public assembly, state the object of the meeting, and allow discussion before the final vote—all in time for Danaus to report the people's decision at the beginning of the following episode. Nevertheless, the fact remains that such acceleration was comparatively slight and can be paralleled from dramatists who owned no allegiance to these unities—note, for example, the striking of the half-hour every twenty or twenty-five lines at the close of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. No such explanation can

account for so violent a condensation of time as occurs in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. At the play's opening the guard sights the signal fire which announces the capture of Troy, and within a few hundred lines Agamemnon has finished the sack, traversed the Aegean, and appeared before his palace! No hint is given, however, that there is anything unusual about all this, and the action is without hesitation compressed into one day.

In this connection, it ought to be observed that, when a modern playwright like Pinero restricts his action to one day and represents the lapse of several hours by the fall of the curtain between acts, he does not thereby observe the unity of time in the Greek sense; for to the Greeks, inasmuch as there were normally performers before the audience throughout, it meant at least a *semblance* of continuity of action. It is, therefore, somewhat remarkable that Professor Verrall, who fully recognizes the dependence of this unity upon local conditions and has published eminently sensible observations on the subject,¹ has nevertheless felt constrained to challenge the obvious interpretation of two plays in which a glaring violation of the unity of time occurs. In the *Agamemnon* he supposes the watchman and the populace (including the chorus) to be misinformed as to the meaning of the beacon and that it really served to Clytemnestra, Aegisthus, and their supporters as a warning of Agamemnon's being close at hand! And his elucidation of the *Andromache* of Euripides is still more ingenious and complicated.²

But to bolster up such interpretations Professor Verrall must proceed to explain away all similar instances as well—to explain, for example, how in Euripides' *Suppliants* an Attic army can march from Eleusis to the vicinity of Thebes and fight a battle there and how tidings of the victory can be brought back to Eleusis all between vss. 598 and 634 and, again, how Philocrates can travel from Aetolia to Elis and return between vss. 452 and 922 of Plautus' *Captivi*. Nevertheless, not the slightest attention is paid to these patent absurdities and the whole action is in each case unmistakably supposed to fall within a single day.

¹ Cf. his edition of Euripides' *Ion*, pp. xlviii ff.

² Cf. the introduction to his edition of the *Agamemnon*, and *Four Plays of Euripides*, pp. 1-42.

In view of the foregoing we are not surprised that Aristotle does mention the unity of time, though only incidentally; but he rather commends it as something which works out well in practice than enjoins it as an invariable rule. His exact language is: "They differ, again, in their length: for Tragedy endeavours, as far as possible, to confine itself to a single revolution (*περίοδος*) of the sun, or but slightly to exceed this limit; whereas the Epic action has no limits of time" (Butcher). In actual practice this restriction was further reduced in most cases to the hours of daylight, and some have even maintained that *περίοδος ἡλίου* means but twelve hours. But we have at least one example of the dramatic action beginning in the late afternoon of one day and not concluding until the next day—Terence's *Heauton Timoroumenos*.

It remains to consider some of the expedients which the poets found useful in solving the difficulties (both of time and of place) caused by local conditions.¹ In the first place, the practice of writing a series of three plays on the same general subject often enabled the playwright to distribute his incidents in different places and time spheres without loss of verisimilitude, for a whole trilogy was no longer than the average modern play and each tragedy would thus correspond to a single act and, since the chorus was withdrawn at the close of each play in the trilogy and its place taken by another entirely different, changes of time and place between plays were absolutely without restriction. Thus, 30,000 years (!) elapse between the *Prometheus Bound* and *Prometheus Unbound* of Aeschylus, and the scene changes from Scythia to the Caucasus; and the pertinent facts of similar import concerning the Oresteian trilogy will at once occur to everyone.

We have already observed the difficulty of plausibly motivating exits and entrances in ancient plays, but no less difficulty was involved in unobtrusively acquainting the audience with just those facts necessary for an intelligent understanding of the drama. In the second place, therefore, the ancient poets frequently satisfied the demands of these two unities by setting their expositions at times and places which would naturally be different. Even such

¹ In addition to Felsch and Krause, cf. Polczyk, *De unitatibus et loci et temporis in nova comoedia observatis* (1909).

a master of dramatic technique as Sophocles represented Orestes as communicating to his fellow-conspirators the result of his inquiry at Delphi only after they had reached Argos (*Electra* 32 ff.) and as waiting to formulate a definite plan of action until they were in the most unfavorable place in all the world for such a purpose—before Clytemnestra's palace (*ibid.* 15 ff.). The latter incongruity does not occur in Euripides' version of the same story because the scene of that play is laid not in the city of Argos but before Electra's hut in the country.

One of the most striking peculiarities of Euripidean technique is the prologue in which with very slight regard for dramatic illusion a character in a monologue sets forth the essential antecedents of the action. Whatever other explanations may be advanced for this innovation, whether inability or disinclination to follow his predecessors' model, the necessity of indicating such radical departures from earlier tradition as were postulated for his version, desire for clearness or brevity of exposition, fondness for rhetorical display, a wish to exploit antiquarian lore, to forecast the course of the action, or what not, this consideration must also be allowed a certain weight, viz., that it enabled him to rehearse events of the most diverse nature without violating the unities of time and place. This form is employed in all Euripides' extant plays and, though severely criticized both in ancient and in modern times, was borrowed by Sophocles in his *Trachiniae*,¹ extensively imitated by Aristophanes² despite his caustic criticisms, and was exceedingly popular among the writers of the New Comedy.

In the last place, also at the close of his plays Euripides frequently used an expedient whereby he surmounted the customary restrictions of time and place—the *deus ex machina*. In the hands of an unskilful dramatist this contrivance served as a final recourse when he had involved his plot beyond the possibility of disentanglement by natural means, and it is frequently charged that such was the Euripidean practice—but most unjustly. He resorted to this

¹ Cf. Kaibel's introduction to his edition of Sophocles' *Electra*, p. 65: "Deianeira hat für ihr Auftreten keinen anderen Grund, als dass das Stück beginnt, für ihre Erzählung keinen andren, als dass das Publikum unterrichtet sein will."

² Cf. Starkie's edition of Aristophanes' *Wasps*, pp. x f., and note 6.

device nine times in the extant and at least twice in the lost plays; and in the *Orestes* alone is it frankly and undisguisedly employed to relieve the poet from his embarrassment, and even in this instance the theophany is no more necessary than it is in a play by Sophocles, the *Philoctetes*. In all the other examples the *deus ex machina* serves mainly to foretell events beyond the time and action of the drama. Thus, in the *Andromache* the difficulties of the plot are entirely solved before Thetis' appearance, and she merely gives directions for Neoptolemus' burial and prophesies the future of Peleus, Andromache, and Molossus and of the latter's posterity.¹

We have seen that the unities of time and place are largely due to the striving for illusion in a theater comparatively bare of scenery and of facilities for scene-shifting. Conversely, their observance in the modern theater with its ample scenic provision would naturally militate against the scenic extravagance of which the present-day theatocracy is so enamored. Thus, it would seem that the much-abused unities are not without a meaning and truly artistic tendency even today, for some of the most significant influences in the contemporaneous drama are directed against excesses in this line; witness (*inter alia*) Ben Greet's Woodland Players and the New Theater's revival of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. Even a modern producer, Mr. Henry W. Savage, includes the following in his advice to a young playwright:² "Do not distribute your scenes so widely that you have one on an island, another at Herald Square, and a third at Chicago. Make the action of your play take place all in one day, if possible." In other words, the unity of time expressly and an approximation to the unity of place.

The unity of action is the only one that is universal, since it alone springs from the inmost nature of the drama. Yet even here local conditions make themselves felt. The modern playwright, free (if he pleases and has a producer complaisant enough) to change the scene ten times within a single act and with superior facilities for motivating entrances and exits, delights in shifting different sets

¹ A very interesting account of the *deus ex machina* and prologue in Euripides can be found in Decharme's *Euripides and the Spirit of His Dramas* (Loeb's translation), pp. 264 ff. and 273 ff. respectively (1906).

² Cf. *The Bookman*, XXX (1909), 37.

of characters back and forth and thus secures an alternation of light and shade, an intermingling of comedy and tragedy quite beyond the ancient dramatist's reach. The preceding discussion has shown the immobility of the ancient theater in these respects and, consequently, one reason why the Greeks ruthlessly excluded everything that was not strictly germane to their action.

This unity, it is needless to say, Aristotle recognized and discussed at length. Among other things he pointed out that epic poetry has an advantage in that it can present many events simultaneously transacted, while the drama is restricted to but one. A curious violation of this self-evident principle has recently occurred in our contemporaneous drama. Toward the end of Act II in Eugene Walter's *Paid in Full* Emma Brooks is disclosed making an appointment with Captain Williams over the telephone. In the next act we are transferred to Captain Williams' quarters, and the dramatic clock has in the meanwhile been turned back some fifteen minutes, for presently the telephone bell rings and the same appointment is made over again. In other words, Act III partially overlaps Act II in time, but the scene is different. It can scarcely be denied that the dramatic situation has been enhanced by this device, but this gain has been secured at the sacrifice of verisimilitude and dramatic illusion.

Though it is on all sides admitted that the unity of action is the *sine qua non* of dramatic composition, many fail to realize the meaning and extent of its limitation. Aristotle indicated a mistaken notion current in his day (and likewise in ours) in the following words: "The unity of a plot does not consist, as some suppose, in its having one man as its subject. An infinity of things befall that one man, some of which it is impossible to reduce to unity; and in like manner there are many actions of one man which cannot be made to form one action. One sees, therefore, the mistake of all the poets who have written a *Heracleid*, a *Theseid*, or similar poems; they suppose that, because Heracles was one man, the story also of Heracles must be one story" (Bywater). Freytag has discussed the matter with keen discrimination and exemplifies it by showing how Shakespeare remodeled the more or less chaotic story of Romeo and Juliet's love into a unified plot whose incidents

follow one another almost as inevitably as Fate. The passage is unfortunately too long for quotation here, but is highly instructive.¹

Thus, the Greek masters were so far from evolving unities out of their inner consciousness or from observing them invariably that they constantly violated the unities of time and place in both letter and spirit. Their practice throughout simply reacted to theatrical conditions as they found them. It has remained for their successors, whose theater has for the most part been quite dissimilar, to observe the unities with a literalness and exactness such as never characterized the first disciples of the doctrine. That both ancients and moderns have produced masterpieces under these restrictions is, of course, a truism. In fact, some of our most impressive recent plays, such as Kennedy's *Servant in the House*, have conformed to them. That many modern plays would have been improved by observing them is doubtless also true. As Professor Thorndike² says: "Stage illusion and precision of effect may be aided by an observance of the unities, and by the limitation of the action to a single plot, a few persons, and a few scenes—Shakespeare and encomiasts of his art to the contrary notwithstanding. . . . The pseudo-classicists erred mainly in taking their rules as masters instead of as guides." But that the unities should be arbitrarily imposed upon every drama without exception is absurd, since the theatrical conditions that called them forth are no longer the same. That Aeschylus and Sophocles, if present with us in the flesh, would occasionally avail themselves of the greater flexibility and adaptability of the modern theater, I cannot doubt. At any rate, that restless spirit, Euripides, would certainly have gloried in its freedom.

¹ Cf. *Technique of the Drama* (MacEwan's trans.), 30 ff.

² Cf. *Tragedy*, 313 (1908).

HORACE, MONUMENTUM AERE PERENNIUS

BY GRANT SHOWERMAN
University of Wisconsin

I

And is this all? Can Reason do no more
Than bid me shun the deep and dread the shore?
Sweet Moralist! afloat on life's rough sea,
The Christian has an art unknown to thee:
He holds no parley with unmanly fears;
Where Duty bids he confidently steers,
Faces a thousand dangers at her call,
And, trusting in his God, surmounts them all.

Cowper's reflection upon the ode of the Golden Mean is expressive of a phase of sentiment not impossible to any modern reader of Horace. Horace is a pagan poet, and the system of philosophy most congenial to him is frankly materialistic. Those who have been bred in the Christian faith, or are accustomed to its widespread manifestation in letters, music, painting—in all the forms of civilization—will find it easy to notice, even if they do not really regret, the absence from his pages of certain modes of thought which they have been taught to associate with the spiritual life.

They will miss, first of all, the faith in immortality to which they have been accustomed in nearly all modern literature, whether of primary Christian inspiration or not. The only immortality that Horace takes serious account of is the immortality of fame. Aside from this, the end of man is dust and shadow. He does not, it is true, in the depth of his heart agree with Democritus, Epicurus, and Lucretius, that

Dust thou art, to dust returnest

is spoken also of the soul: the old Roman instinct for ancestor worship is too strong in him for that; but he acquiesces in their doctrine in so far as shadowy existence in another world inspires in him no pleasing hope.

They will miss in as great degree the faith in the supernatural

which accompanies the Christian hope of happy immortality; and with this those expressions of aspiration toward perfection, of yearning for communion with the divine, of self-abasement in the presence of the perfect, which are so characteristic of Christian thought and Christian poetry. The flights of Horace's Muse rarely take him into the realm of a divine love and providence. His aspirations are for faithfulness in friendship, enduring courage, perfection of patriotism—in short, for ideal *human* relations.

Horace's idealism is not Christian idealism, and is only in a limited way even spiritual idealism. When he prays, it is usually for others than himself, and for temporal blessings only—for Augustus' prosperity at home and in the field, for Maecenas' continued life and happiness, for the weal of the state, for the nurslings of his little flock, for health of body and contentment of heart. His dwelling is not in the secret places of the Most High. Philosophy, not religion, is his refuge and his fortress; in philosophy, not in God, will he trust.

In a word, Horace is materialistic, self-reliant, and self-sufficient. He sees no happy future after this life, is conscious of no divine providence watching over him, is involved in no obligations to the beings of an eternal world; he looks this world and the next, gods and men, square in the face—and expects every other man to do the same. Life and its duties are for him clear-cut. He is no propounder of problems, no searcher after hidden purposes. He lacks almost absolutely the feverish aspiration and unrest which characterize Christian and other humanitarian modes of thought and sentiment, and whose manifestation is one of the marked features of the literature of recent modern times.

The modern reader may miss, too—especially if he is Anglo-Saxon—that stern manner of dealing with one's self, a usual concomitant of Christianity, known as puritanism. With Horace—at least as regards personal vices—the only immorality is abuse. Of mortification of the flesh, of penitence and penance, of asceticism in any form, he knows nothing. He knows as little of the self-humiliation and self-abnegation which have come to be associated with the thought of strong spiritual character. He is undisturbed by any thought of being his brother's keeper, haunted

by no fear of making his brother to offend; he eats the meat that is set before him, with no concern for anything but his own digestion. Sane, frank, unapologetic enjoyment of whatever life has to offer is his avowed principle, and the measure of its sincerity may be estimated from the freedom with which he records his carnal indulgences. We could indeed wish that he had committed to his pages less of what must even in his own lenient time have been in something less than perfect taste on paper, whatever sanction custom gave to the conduct which his words suggest.

Nor is it the Christian only who may entertain a sense of incompleteness in Horace. Any modern moralist or humanitarian, if he is critically disposed, may find ground for dissatisfaction with him. For manifestations of that spirit of unselfish regard for humanity as a whole which belongs more or less to all modern life and letters, he will search in vain. Horace displays no evidence of humanitarian zeal; there is no suggestion of the sociologist in his pages. He expresses regret for no human tyranny save the tyranny of man's own nature over himself; he sympathizes with no slave except the one who is in bonds to his own passion, appetite, and ignorance; the only charity he manifests is charity toward the common failings of the human heart.

Only once or twice does Horace seem to voice the modern note of compassion for the lot of the poor: once, when he calls death the savior of the poor man from his burdens, whether summoned or not summoned—

Hic levare functum
Pauperem laboribus
Vocatus atque non vocatus audit;

and again, in the more unmistakable pathos of the reference to the bleaching bones of the potter's field on the Esquiline, and to the miseries of the crowded slave population of the city who were there laid to rest:

Huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis
Conservus vili portanda locabat in arca;
Hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulcrum,
Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti.
Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat; heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.

But for scant indications like these, and but for our knowledge of Horace's warmly sympathetic heart as expressed in his relations with his friends, we might suspect him of almost total indifference to the lot of masses. So far as may be judged from specific expression, he concerned himself little with the many-headed beast save to smile at it, to avoid its stupid blunders, and to forgive it with all his heart.

Such are some of the limitations of Horace, as judged from the point of view of modern sentiment. They belong to him mainly, of course, because they belong also to his time and to his people.

Quite apart from moral and spiritual grounds, however, the critic might be pardoned for noticing an intellectual limitation also. The content of Horace's work is so unpretentious, his thought so obvious and so easily assimilated, his philosophy so simple, so unassuming, and so little savoring of the library, that the unsympathizing or unintelligent critic might charge him with being commonplace. He sees what men have always seen. Life is travail, death inevitable; enjoy while you may; take heed not to prejudice pleasure by false interpretation of the nature of enjoyment; look for happiness to the inward man rather than to outward circumstance—there is surely nothing profound about this philosophy, and nothing new. The insufficiency of wealth to produce peace of heart is a truth which has never been without witnesses, from the time of Solomon, and has never been seriously questioned—except in the unconscious questioning of actual human behavior.

What is said of Horace's philosophy may be said also of his other content: his pictures from nature, his miniatures of the life of men, his tributes to friendship, his moral precepts, his homely anecdotes and aphorisms—all belong to the common stock of human experience.

II

There is nevertheless no mystery either in Horace's having ever increased with fresh fame as long as the pontifex ascended the sacred steep of the Capitol with the silent Virgin by his side, or in his having survived the innumerable succession of years and the flight of time—

Annorum series et fuga temporum—

and become favorite with generations of another religious faith, other bloods, and other climes.

In so far as their effect upon Horace as a literary personality is concerned, the limitations we have noticed are more apparent than real. Few will be regretted, and some will prove on closer examination to be undeserving of the name.

It should indeed be no part of the purpose of Horace's interpreter to condone his occasional lapses of taste. The coarseness of a few of the epodes, satires, and odes the poet himself realized in later years, if the purer tone of the epistles and contemporary odes may be taken as a criterion. The deed may be excused on the ground of custom, and the expression of it may be attributable for the most part to a literary immaturity, susceptible, as usual, to false ideas of the real constitution of humor and strength; but the author of the second satire merits the censure of the critic of art, if not of the moralist.

Let the reprimand be conveyed through Howells' measured words in reproof of Chaucer:

The streams of filth flow down through the ages in literature, which sometimes seems little better than an open sewer, and, as I have said, I do not see why the time should not come when the noxious and noisome channels should be stopped; but the base of the mind is bestial, and so far the beast in us has insisted upon having his full say. The worst of lewd literature is that it seems to give a sanction to lewdness in the life, and that inexperience takes this effect for reality: that is the danger and the harm, and I think the fact ought not to be blinked. Compared with the meaner poets the greater are the cleaner, and Chaucer was probably safer than any other English poet of his time, but I am not going to pretend that there are not things in Chaucer which one would be the better for not reading; and so far as these words of mine shall be taken for counsel, I am not willing that they should unqualifiedly praise him. The matter is by no means simple; it is not easy to conceive of a means of purifying the literature of the past without weakening it, and even falsifying it, but it is best to own that it is in all respects just what it is, and not to feign it otherwise.

Yet Horace's lapses are few, and the attitude of his generation may be allowed to mitigate the severity of his condemnation—and the attitude of his race; for the difference between Horace and the puritan is hardly less ethnographical and geographical than chrono-

logical. In the Latin-European literature of today there is matter as vile as the worst in the literature of the ancients, and infinitely more immoral and tasteless than anything in Horace, for the reason that it is produced in the midst of Christian society, and is conscious. With the law came sin.

As a matter of fact, Horace was more virtuous in this respect than his environment. It is with no little satisfaction that we see him take his stand for the purity of the home in the midst of a society which must have come to look upon the institution of marriage in much the manner of the ancient dame in Maupassant's *Jadis* nineteen hundred years later:

La jeune fille, toute pâle, balbutia:

—"Alors les femmes n'avaient pas d'honneur."

—"Pas d'honneur! parce qu'on aimait, qu'on osait le dire et même s'en vanter? Mais, fillette, si une de nous parmi les plus grandes dames de France était demeurée sans amant, toute la cour en aurait ri. Celles qui voulaient vivre autrement n'avaient qu'à entrer au couvent. Et vous vous imaginez peut-être que vos maris n'aimeront que vous dans toute leur vie. Comme si ça se pouvait, vraiment. Je te dis moi, que le mariage est une chose nécessaire pour que la société vive, mais qu'il n'est pas dans la nature de notre race, entends-tu bien? Il n'y a dans la vie qu'une bonne chose, c'est l'amour."

As regards the other limitations of Horace, it requires but a turn of the pen to convert depreciation into appreciation. They are indeed not far from being the chief causes of his enduring fame.

I

The sympathizing critic will call Horace not commonplace, but universal. His content is familiar matter of today as well as of his own time. His delightful natural settings are never novel, romantic, or forced: we have seen them all, in experience or in literature, again and again, and they make familiar and intimate appeal. Phidyle is neither ancient nor modern, Latin nor Teuton; she is all of them at once. The exquisite expressions of friendship in the odes to a Virgil, or a Septimius, are applicable to any age or nationality, or any person. The story of the town mouse and country mouse is always old and always new, and

always true. *Mutato nomine de te* may be said of it, and of all Horace's other stories. Their application and appeal are universal.

And so with Horace's philosophy of life. He sums up an attitude toward existence which all men, of whatever nation or time, can easily understand, and which all, at some moment or other, sympathize with. Whether they believe in his philosophy of life or not, whether they put it into practice or not, it is always and everywhere attractive—attractive because founded on clear and sympathetic vision of the joys and sorrows that are the common lot of men, attractive because of its frankness and manly courage, and, above all, attractive because of its object. So long as the one great object of human longing is peace of mind and heart, no philosophy which recognizes it will be without followers. The Christian philosopher is naturally unwilling to adopt the Horatian philosophy *in toto*, but with its *summum bonum*, and with many of its recommendations, he is in perfect accord. Add Christian faith to it, or add it, so far as it is consonant, to Christian faith, and either is enriched.

2

Horace is not only universal, but natural; and he is universal because he is natural. It is not so much paganism that he sums up—for, in so far as religion is concerned, he is hardly less free from paganism than from Christianity itself—as the natural man. He typifies in as great measure as is well possible the purely human living of life: gives complete expression to self-reliance as contrasted with reliance upon the divine.

Whatever the fashion, or whatever the faith, or whatever the ideal of men, it has always been easier for mankind to regulate its conduct on the assumption of mortality than upon that of immortality and inscrutable providence. It is in no small part because the world is never without those who find it easier to comprehend and to live the natural than the supernatural life, the material than the spiritual, that Horace has fulfilled his prophecy: has reared a monument more lasting than bronze, and has winged his tuneful way to the shores of the groaning Bosporus, to the Gaetulian Syrtes, and to the Hyperborean fields, and become favorite with men of every nation:

Iam Daedaleo notior Icaro
 Visam gementis litora Bospori
 Syrtesque Gaetulas canorus
 Ales Hyperboreosque campos.

Me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum
 Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi
 Noscent Geloni, me peritus
 Discet Hiber Rhodanique potor.

3

And Horace's summing up of the human side of existence is no mere intellectual summing up. The greatest of all the factors—almost, rather, the sum of all the factors—which have conciliated his audience is that he is not only a complete intellectual summing up of a certain attitude, but an incarnation of it. Aside from his universality, he is also a personality. In spite of the varied nature of his life experience and his literary form, he is one of the most unified and consistent figures in literature. The term "Horatian" visualizes a definite and sympathetic personality.

No poet speaks forth from the page with more directness, or is so well remembered as a flesh and blood acquaintance. No poet establishes so easily and so completely the personal relation with the reader. He is among poets what Thackeray is among novelists. He addresses his odes and *sermones* to a variety of persons, but the illusion is easy—rather, involuntary—that the message is for ourselves. A touch of the imagination, and we substitute ourselves for the person addressed, and feel at first hand the good will and good faith of the poet, the depth and constancy of his friendship, the glow of admiration for the brave deed, the pure heart, and the steadfast purpose, the patient endurance of ill, the delight in men and things, the affection for the simple and the sincere, the charity for human weakness, the mildly ironical mood of the critic who is aware that he himself is not undeserving of the good-humored censure he is passing upon others, the clear vision of the sources of happiness, the reposeful acquiescence, the elusive humor which rarely bursts out in laughter and is yet never far away from it—all the qualities which were Horace. We are taken into his confidence, like old friends. He

describes himself and his ways; he lets us share in his own vision of himself and in his amusement at the bustling and self-deluded world, and subtly and unconsciously conciliates us by making us feel ourselves partakers with him in the criticism of life. There is no better example in literature of personal magnetism.

And he is not *only* personal. He is also sincere and unreserved. Were he otherwise, the delight of intimate acquaintance with him would be impossible. It is the real Horace whom we meet—not a person on the literary stage, with buskins, pallium, and mask. Horace holds the mirror up to himself—rather, not to himself, but to nature in himself. Every side of his personality appears: the artist, and the man; the formalist, and the skeptic; the spectator, and the critic; the gentleman in society, and the son of the collector; the landlord of five hearths, and the poet at court; the stern moralist, and the occasional voluptuary; the vagabond, and the conventionalist. He is independent and unhampered in his expression. He has no exalted social position to maintain, and needs to blush neither for parentage nor companions. His philosophy is not school-made, and the fear of inconsistency never haunts him. His religion requires no subscription to dogma; he does not even take the trouble to define it. Politically, his duties have come to be also his desires: he will accept the favors of the emperor and his ministers if they do not compromise his liberty or his happiness; if they withdraw their gifts, he knows how to do without them, because he has done without them, and knows that happiness has other foundations. He is not one to praise the lot of the common people, himself sated with the fare of the rich; he values peace more than the wealth of the East—

Nec somnum plebis laudo satur atilium, nec
Otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto.

As to personal indulgence, too, he does not concern himself about our opinion of his character. He is naked and unashamed; culpability lies not in the act, but in its abuse: immoderation is the only vice. He conceals nothing, pretends to nothing, makes no excuses, suffers from no self-consciousness, exercises no reserve in his self-illumination. There are few expressions of self in all

literature so spontaneous and so complete. Horace has left us a portrait of his soul more skilfully rendered by far than that of his person—a portrait duly furnished forth with both shadow and light, naturalistic after the style of the portrait art of the time.

Further, there is a corollary to Horace's frankness regarding himself which constitutes another element in the charm of his personality. His very unreserve postulates an open and a kindly heart. To call him a satirist at all is to necessitate his own special definition of satire: *ridentem dicere verum*. There is in his riper work, at least, no trace of bitterness. He laughs with some purpose, and *to* some purpose, but his laughter is never sardonic:

Ridiculum acri

Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.

His sane judgment and generous experience tell him that the foibles of mankind which are so universal are his own as well as theirs, and are not to be changed by so slight a thing as the railing of a satiric tongue with a tang; he reflects that what in himself produces no very disastrous results may with no great danger be forgiven also in them. He will not look on the faults of a friend with the eye of the serpent or the eagle. He would be in agreement with Parsondes, in one of Juan Valera's *Cuentos*: "Needless troubles kill the fool, and no one is more a fool than he who worries himself to censure the vices of others merely because he has had no opportunity of falling into them himself, or else has failed to fall into them from ignorance, bad taste, or rusticity."

4

Add to the unity and charm of Horace's personality the unity and charm of his literary expression. Here again, the term "Horatian" suggests a definite conception.

In the odes, by which it has in all ages been usual to measure the excellence of Horace as a poet, the unity and consistency of his manner have been recognized from the beginning. The brief appreciations of Quintilian and Petronius, the latter of whom was impressed by Horace's *curiosa felicitas*, and the former of whom summed him up: "Insurgit aliquando, et plenus est iucunditatis et gratiae, et variis figuris et verbis felicissime audax"—felicity in

the use of unhackneyed diction and imagery, grace and geniality of both spirit and expression, and sometimes the heights of real poetic inspiration—have formulated a characterization to whose broad strokes the modern critic may add little except by way of elaboration.

It would not be impossible to apply the same appreciation to the literary expression of the satires and epistles also. It is only at first sight that a different Horace seems to appear in them. In spite of the poet's deprecation—

His, ego quae nunc,
Olim quae scripsit Lucilius, eripias si
Tempora certa modosque, et quod prius ordine verbum est
Posterius facias, praepone ultima primis,
Non, ut si solvas "postquam Discordia taetra
Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit,"
Invenias etiam disiecti membra poetae—

in spite of this, there is abundance of real poetry in the compositions which their author characterizes as *sermoni propiora*. If satire and epistle do not rise to lyric heights, and are not remarkable for felicitous daring, it is because it is not in the nature of satire and epistle to do so; but for *iucunditas* and *gratia*—felicity and grace of their own sort, both in form and content—they are hardly to be surpassed. Let anyone who wishes to be convinced try to imitate their author as he fashions his verses from language in ordinary use, giving words new dignity by means of skilful combination:

Ex noto fictum carmen sequor, ut sibi quivis
Speret idem, sudet multum frustra que labore
Ausus idem: tantum series iuncturaque pollet,
Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.

Universality of content alone will not insure immortality.

Difficile est proprie communia dicere.

The poet must give his work the particular stamp of individual genius. "Look at a tree," says Flaubert, "until it appears to you just as it appears to everyone else. Then look at it until you see what no man has ever seen before!" Perhaps Horace did not see much in the old tree of life that others had not seen before

him; but he saw it in a calmer and clearer and more genuine light than most men have seen it, and he has drawn for us with exceeding skill what he saw.

5

Finally, no little of the charm of Horace resides in the general atmosphere of repose which envelops him. Both as a person and as a poet, he communicates a rare restfulness.

As regards personality, this atmosphere of repose arises from a remarkable equilibrium. Intellectually, physically, temperamentally, Horace seems to have been a person of enviable balance. To mention his name is to call up thought of the Golden Mean. His enthusiastic studies in Greek philosophy resulted in the obtrusion of nothing recondite into his poetry. Whatever the weakness of health he several times alludes to, he gives no sign anywhere of morbidness. His vision is clear and steady and undistorted. There are no contradictions in his philosophy of life; it is thoroughly pagan, thoroughly comprehensible without the invocation of reward or penalty from another world or another life, thoroughly restful because of its being so entirely of this world. There is no suggestion of unsatisfied longing for the unattainable, or of despair at the deficiencies of actual life. Horace's very imperfections from the point of view of the modern moralist or religionist constitute one of his chief attractions. Even those who order their lives by the light of another world, and find their own happiness in the everlasting struggle of Christian idealism, cannot but feel themselves warmed and comforted by his genial pagan equipoise—which, however reprehensible in their eyes in men of another day, is freely forgivable in one who lived before the advent of the law.

As a master of expression also, Horace displays the same equilibrium. The atmosphere of his work is one of quiet and assurance. There is nothing in it that could be called dashing or brilliant, and there is also little that savors of weakness, or carelessness, or uncertainty. There is little forcing, little straining for effect, and there is no vagueness either in sentiment or in execution. Everywhere there breathes the sureness of mature conception and leisurely, deliberate effort. Horace may be lacking in the glow of

spontaneity, but in the measured quality that springs from good taste and from strictness of literary conscience he has few equals.

If we trace to its origin Horace's equilibrium both as a liver of life and as a writer of poetry, we find it in both cases springing from the same source: from unity. The most indispensable of the qualities of all successful life and all great literature belongs also to Horace's life and Horace's poetry. Both are *simplex et unum*. He is an artist of life, and an artist of letters.

Further still, Horace the artist of life and Horace the artist of letters are not only consistent in themselves, but consistent with each other. They blend into a single unity—Horace. To describe Horace the person is to describe Horace the poet. He is sincere not only in the moral sense, in withholding nothing from the gaze of the reader, and pretending nothing, but he is sincere also in the critical sense: his work is in accord with himself, a complete and well-rounded expression of personality.

Unity, the most comprehensive quality of all art, is the most comprehensive quality of Horace's art also. It is the bond which gives their greatest effectiveness to all his other qualities, themselves so pronounced that each of them seems in turn the explanation of his immortality—his richness of personality; his universal and sympathetic content; his directness and sincerity; his reposeful charm of expression. This is what makes him so concrete, and so charged with warmth and life—"the friend of my friends and of so many generations of men."

Practice and Prospect

Edited by J. J. SCHLICHER

THE LITERARY SIDE OF CLASSICAL TEACHING

In the good old days, not so long past, we did not worry much about literary instruction in the classics. Or if we did, it was easy to pass on the responsibility for it. The high school was there to furnish raw material for the college, and the college for the graduate school. It did not concern us much, until recently, that an ever-increasing proportion of the raw material was never used by anyone, and remained raw, just as we left it. Nor did we often stop to think that whatever the other results of our instruction, there was one thing which we always succeeded in doing, whether the language was pursued one year or six—we formed the pupil's habits of study in it and his attitude toward his work, and to the degree to which we influenced him, his attitude toward all his intellectual pursuits, of whatever kind.

But the times are changing. Conditions without and reflection within have gradually impressed us with the need of doing the thing in each year of the course as if that were to be the pupil's last. Like the itinerant saver of souls we feel the responsibility of having those who sit before us constantly prepared for the end which may come at any time. And this new feeling of responsibility has proved to be the best of tonics. It is transforming a discipline that to some appeared all but dead into new and healthy life.

But as to the literary side of classical instruction, especially in the first years of the high school, many of us will still have our doubts. We realize how short the time is, and how difficult the task of giving the ordinary pupil an even half-way respectable reading knowledge of the author he studies. And without the ability to read fluently, we are apt to think, all attempts to deal with these authors as literature are *prima facie* an impossibility. We know that we read and speak and write English before we appreciate its literary qualities, and draw our conclusions for Latin and Greek accordingly. But is this a necessary conclusion, or even a fair one? And are we not, by assuming its validity, robbing our pupils and ourselves of much that rightly belongs to us and them?

The slow, painful methods which are necessary in dealing with the lesson in high-school Latin, for instance, put some obstacles in the way of a literary treatment of what is being read, it is true. There is no immediate chance to view the thing as a whole, or to get the total effect or purpose of a lengthy work. But certainly this does not preclude the possibility of holding before the pupil's mind constantly the essence of what has already been read, and of dealing with his daily lesson in the light of what has gone before. And when

the work is finished in this way, there is the final reward of a deep, clear view of the whole which is unknown to a swifter reading.

Moreover, the very difficulty of the labor required to master the language, and get the meaning of a limited amount at a time, holds out the opportunity, yes, the necessity, of treating everything in an intimate way. Literary appreciation does not all depend on the mass. A most important part of it lies in close observation of detail, of fine shades and turns and half-hidden meanings and all the varied suggestions to which the more cursory reader, whose mind has never been trained to close work, will in most cases remain a lasting stranger. This is one point in which the teacher of the classics is fortunate beyond his fellows who teach English or the modern languages. The very nature of the material with which he works in his teaching brings with it an intensity of effort and a concentration which they can often secure only by external compulsion, if at all.

To be sure, that wider acquaintance with a variety of forms and productions which is possible in English is not possible in the original Latin or Greek, within the same limited time. But it is at least an open question whether close familiarity and deep absorption in a limited field cannot do more toward forming clear standards of excellence, and will not tend to give the mind more of that sensitiveness to what is fine and good which we call appreciation. At any rate this is the theory which underlies most of our advanced instruction, and if that is founded on a sound basis, the literary work which is possible in the classics is necessarily on a sound basis also. Of course, we will all agree that outlook is necessary as well as minute inspection. This merely means, however, that we need both literary instruction in English and literary instruction in the classics, and this for the sake of standards and general training, as well as for the more comprehensive acquaintance to be gained.

Some teachers contend that the success of literary instruction is largely or entirely a matter that depends on the pupil's aptitude for it, and that there are some, yes, many, on whom all efforts in this direction are thrown away. Particularly firm is the conviction that high-school pupils are too immature to appreciate anything so far beyond them as a classical masterpiece. It seems to the writer that neither of these points is well taken. Individuals differ, of course, and it is the amount and kind of progress they make from the point where they start that we must keep our eye upon, not the failure of this or that individual to move in exactly the way preconceived by the teacher, possibly from his own vastly different experience. When we are reading for our own amusement or edification, it is perfectly justifiable to set up any standard we like, but as instructors our course and our goal must be very largely modified and determined by the pupils whose shaping and guidance we have undertaken.

Much the same might be said with reference to the remark that high-school pupils are too young and the classics too far beyond them to permit any full realization or appreciation of their meaning. We must remember

that, while they are children and immature, they are being trained to become grown up men and women, nevertheless, not to remain boys and girls. And the problem before the teacher is not met by simply puerilizing the matter or method of instruction, nor on the other hand by remaining stiffly seated on the grown-up's throne, and heaving sighs of despair at the degeneracy of these latter days.

The practice of many teachers to wait till they reach Virgil before they take account of the literary qualities of the author is easy to understand but not at all necessary. The growth of a literary feeling does not require the possession of a great masterpiece any more than the growth of a feeling for nature must wait for the presence of the mountains and the sea. Much can be done to make a beginning even in the first year of Latin. The vocabulary is not simply a dull task invented for the mortification of the flesh, unless you choose to have it so. It may be a cage filled with living things, waiting only to fly forth, with songs of joy or terror, each one an interesting individual being, distinct from all its fellows. There is no reason at all why teacher and pupil should not have and display their likes and dislikes, and have their friends and aversions even among this company. That is one thing which lies along the road toward a feeling for literary values.

And what an opportunity there is in Caesar even, not only in his characters and their human deeds and characteristics, but in nearly every detail of the grammar. How impatient he appears at times of the less important preliminaries, when he piles them up man-high in helpless, stunted ablative absolutes, until he finally gets to the real point which is worthy of a good round indicative or subjunctive. And when he comes to a place where he has a good many things to say at once, what a show he makes of being busy as he throws into his sentence the unhewn blocks of the historical infinitive. Sometimes, we will admit, he may not have had time to lick them into shape, but we cannot help suspecting him when we recollect that it was all written for home consumption. Or think of the complaisant mediocrity of Nepos who could take such evident pride in his little biographies, unconscious of how he overworks his pet phrases, when he repeats his *quo factum est ut* page after page and introduces his sentences by *namque*, *nam*, and *autem*, as if he were reciting specimens in a grammar. And how economical and matter of fact a race must have been which would not support an article, and saved the possessive pronoun and the infinitive *esse*, to say nothing of the pronominal subject, wherever it could. And all these are only matters of grammar.

The youthful imagination works easily, if it receives the least encouragement. And it needs scarcely more than a hint here and there, and a little sympathetic co-operation, to cause the detail even in authors like Caesar and Nepos to stand out distinctly and vividly. A class can be made to forget the length of the hour and everything else, if you get them to realize the background and conditions of the action they read of. It is such things as these, the creation of vigorous images in their minds, coupled with good, strenuous

work which is not beyond their strength, that will make them stick to their Latin in spite of much on the outside. Their view of what they read may not be a grown man's view, but an intimate interest and delight in it will lay the foundation for something that will be a possession forever.

There is still another side of classical instruction which is of especial value to literary training. Appreciation, absorption, reception is but half. Whoever stops with mere reading is like a man who is forever fed and never makes use of his strength. Surely one thing that makes elementary instruction in the classics such an unsurpassed means of training is that it constantly requires that a use shall be made of acquisition, that thoughts shall be put into practice, that to accumulation shall be added a positive, creative goal. Much reading may make a very dull and helpless person of one. But the necessity of producing a translation, of using all the resources and taxing all the strength one has in the effort to construct something of one's own, should lead to a habit and desire to be positively efficient which will later bear fruit in all the concerns of life.

The specifically literary value of translation lies in the opportunity for the creation of standards of performance. And it is here that, in spite of all, most teachers fall farthest short of making the most of their work. If we do not succeed in arousing in even the dullest and least promising pupil some occasional satisfaction and pride in what he has done, we miss one of the most important motive forces that might help him and us. In dealing with language and literature we are dealing with an art, and the goal should, as in all arts, be to produce something as finished as may be, not merely to turn out raw material or to work by the piece. Thoughtful students of our industrial system find one of its worst features in this very absence of interest on the part of the individual in the finished product, and they would fain go back, so far as possible, to the old system of handicrafts as a remedy. What shall we say of the teacher of the classics who year after year has his pupils do nothing but stunts in grammar, and has them thinking of nothing but how they can best dispose of their raw material at the examination? For the difficulty in classical instruction is not inherent as it is in the factory system. It is not hard, but easy, to imbue our pupils with a desire to produce results that shall have some of the marks of perfection, and to help them feel the joy when they succeed measurably in reaching their own ideal. And we must not be deterred by a fear that all this is unsubstantial, mere froth and flourish. A high standard of performance among our citizens, a pride in what they do, and a feeling that the reward lies in the doing of a thing and not in the returns from without, would go far toward curing many of our national ills.

The departments of drawing and manual training have periodical exhibitions of the products of their pupils, which help immensely to give the young aspirant confidence in himself and to get a true estimate of his powers. Should it not be possible, in some way or other, to introduce this valuable feature into the training of students in the classics?

Finally, as many of the teachers suggest, perhaps the most important factor in success on the literary side of classical teaching is in the teacher's own attitude. The elements entering into it are so varied, many of them are so intangible, that they are often best conveyed by intimation and suggestion. If the teacher is a living example of what a page of Latin or Greek can mean to a human being in all its fulness of light and power, the class will not be slow to see that he is teaching something which is supremely worth while for them as well.

Below, as usual, we give extracts from expressions by teachers, which, reflecting their own experience and thought, have already been freely used as the basis for the foregoing remarks.

1. Literary appreciation is a foolish dream unless based on grammar and vocabulary.
2. A clear understanding of what the author is trying to say is the essential feature; if what he says then deserves appreciation, the student will apprehend it directly and without intermediary. An effective, spirited, and carefully conceived translation is of the utmost value.
3. We read too much. Read less and do it better, and re-read to get continuous effect.
4. I think the main reason why pupils do not appreciate the literary value of authors is that they do not feel the works as wholes, but simply do the bit apportioned day by day.
5. The chief obstacle is the increasing pressure of the college examinations, which compel an emphasis on the non-literary side.
6. It is personality, not rules or processes, that will transmit an appreciative taste for good literature. The teacher must have a cultured appreciation and liking for literature himself, or he cannot beget them.
7. I believe teachers of Latin need to get away from the critical research attitude below graduate work, and read and teach for the pure human pleasure.
8. Making it manifest at every step that accurate scrutiny of the boldest grammatical facts leads straight to the truest and keenest appreciation of and relish for the beauties of style.
9. The writing of essays and appreciations of the books read, and constant open discussion of the subject-matter in class.
10. I regularly study some small part of the author read from the literary side, using the ordinary methods employed in English; but I must confess that I have to do most of the work.
11. We do not begin soon enough with the literary training. We need not wait till we get through with the drudgery.
12. Parsing, analyzing, etc., is important and necessary, and I believe in it as much as anybody—at the proper time. But to devote precious time to subjunctives and ablatives in Horace is almost tragic.
13. By pointing out definite instances of literary skill or awkwardness in the authors studied; by reading to the class other authors' treatment of similar or suggested themes, or having the class read them; by demanding a definite reason for liking or disliking a particular word or passage.

14. Reading poems that have the same persons and events mentioned in them as we find in our texts, to see what use modern authors have made of the same material.

15. By laying stress upon the word-order, thought sequence, "syntax in action," the general content of the author's work. To my mind not enough attention is paid to translation.

16. Before a fine passage is reached the student should be made acquainted with the necessary details and allusions that go to its understanding and appreciation, e.g., before reading the passage on Marcellus in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, the student should be acquainted with the imperial family.

17. The writing of abstracts, written translations in the best possible English, metrical translations, the reading in public of Greek plays with the parts taken by students. A statement at the beginning of almost every lesson of what has gone before.

18. A series of systematic studies may be worked out in notebooks, discussing the main artistic features of the piece of literature in hand.

19. Pointing out the beauties in form and thought and comparing them with like features in our own language.

20. I endeavor to read only authors worth while. I generally have the class vote on the next author to be read after I have pointed out the qualities of those I have under consideration.

21. The chief difficulty is the bad language and loose thinking of home and street and campus. Students take little or no pride in the language they use—often the professors do not.

22. The instructor must have literary appreciation and taste and must know Greek and Latin literature well enough to estimate the quality of what he is reading, and thus *interpret* by every means available.

23. If I appreciate the literary features of the passage we are studying, I can make the students appreciate it. I don't know how it's done.

24. Thorough interpretation along lines of ancient life and art; insistence on reading in the original; connection of the classics with modern literature; dwelling on what appeals to *me*.

Current Events

Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Volkmann School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the southern states; and by Frederick C. Eastman, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.

Virginia

Randolph-Macon College.—At the Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, on April 22, the young ladies of the Department of Greek presented the *Medea* of Euripides in the original Greek. Miss Mabel Kate Whiteside, adjunct-professor of Greek, supervised the preparation and presentation, and prepared a concise paraphrase in English, which was distributed among the spectators. The music for the choral parts was composed by one of the students, Miss Elizabeth Kibler, who also acted, with remarkable success, the very difficult part of the heroine. The music was well adapted to the subject-matter and was excellently sung by the chorus, lead by Miss Elizabeth Floyd. All the parts were well played. Many omissions were made, partly on account of the great length of the play, partly because of the subject-matter; but these omissions did not affect the continuity of the action.

This is the third play presented at this college in the original, the *Antigone* of Sophocles having been given last year and the *Alcestis* of Euripides the year before.

Ohio

Columbus.—The Columbus Latin Club had its third meeting of the school year on the evening of May 19. Professor Wallace S. Elden, of the Ohio State University, delivered an interesting illustrated lecture on "Roman Ruins in Africa." Professor Elden spent last year in Africa and secured there some excellent pictures. There were present about two hundred and fifty persons, among whom were included the senior Latin classes of the different high schools.

Michigan

Muskegon High School.—On May 26 the Latin students of the Muskegon High and the Hackley Manual Training schools were guests at a Latin entertainment arranged by Miss Winifred A. Hubbell, head of the Latin Department. Miss Hubbell was assisted by Mr. M. Berry Wood and Miss Jeannette Lane, likewise teachers of Latin at the school.

About one hundred and fifty students, all in costume, attended. Boys wore the toga praetexta, and men the toga. Some were clad as warriors, some as senators or knights. The girls were as varied in their characters as the boys.

The ninth number, based on Professor Miller's *Dido*, "made a decided hit." This scene, with singing and the dance, was given in the moonlight before the queen by twelve girls clad, each in a different color, in the stola, the palla, or himation. The effect produced was most beautiful, and was made the more charming by the well-adapted music of Mr. Nelson's slumber song.

The various departments of the school contributed to the entertainment. The music and dancing were done under the supervision of the teacher of physical culture; the *cena* was prepared by girls of its Department of Domestic Science, and the programs were printed in the school printing-shop.

Kansas

Ottawa University.—The fifth annual meeting of the Kansas and Western Missouri Classical Association, with the Ottawa University, April 21 and 22, was a successful and profitable occasion. About fifty visitors from outside points were present. Scenes from the *Antigone*, presented in English by students in the Department of Expression of Ottawa University, were noteworthy, both as to the effectiveness of the acting and the beauty of the stage pictures.

The officers elected for the coming year were: president, Principal H. L. Miller, Kansas City; vice-president, Miss Laura Ewing, Topeka; secretary-treasurer, Professor W. S. Gordis, Ottawa University; added members of Executive Committee, Professors A. T. Walker, University of Kansas, and O. G. Markham, Baker University. The following papers were read: "The Value of Humanistic Studies," Professor William G. Hale, the University of Chicago; "First-Year Latin," Superintendent L. D. Whittemore, Topeka; "The Essential Unity of the Syntax of the Languages Taught in Our Schools," Professor William G. Hale; "The Latin Teacher's Interest in Greek," Professor Homer K. Ebricht, Baker University; "The Cretan Scripts," Professor A. M. Wilcox, the University of Kansas; "The Teaching of Caesar in the High School," a conference opened and conducted by Professor Arthur T. Walker, the University of Kansas; "The Unpreparedness of the Latin Teacher," Professor E. M. Wollank, the Pittsburgh Manual-Training Normal School; "The New Menander," Professor R. H. Tukey, William Jewell College.

Hiawatha Academy.—The Latin students of the academy presented *Dido, the Phoenician Queen*, on April 11, under the direction of their instructor, Miss Clara K. VanNest.

Iowa

University of Iowa.—A feature of the programs of the Classical Club of the University of Iowa has been a series of papers on subjects kindred to the classics by professors in other departments of the university.

Louisiana

Walter Miller, professor of classical philology and dean of the Academic Colleges of the Tulane University of Louisiana, has accepted a call to the pro-

fessorship of Latin in the University of Missouri. He will move to Columbia in September.

Mississippi

The State Classical Teachers' Association held its annual meeting in May. The program was as follows:

"First-Year Latin," Miss Virgie Neill, Oxford High School.

"Caesar as a Basis for Instruction in Syntax," Christopher Longest, University of Mississippi.

"Shall Latin and Greek Meters Be Taught in the Schools?" M. W. Swartz, Millsaps College.

Professor Alfred W. Milden gave a report of the meeting in St. Louis and awakened a large interest in the meeting to be held next spring in Cincinnati.

The following officers were elected for next year: President, A. J. Aven, Mississippi College; vice-president, Alfred A. Milden, University of Mississippi; secretary, Stuart Grayson Noble, Millsaps College.

Tennessee

A pageant at Tennessee College, Murfreesboro.—In connection with a pageant given at Tennessee College, Murfreesboro, on May 1, an effort was made to represent a portion of the Panathenaic procession and also, symbolically, the Roman festival of Minerva. With *Loyalty* as the keynote of the pageant, Loyalty to Country was typified by the pupils of the affiliated preparatory school dressed as young girls of different nations—Dutch, English (as Puritans), Japanese, Scotch, Spanish—who came to pay homage to Columbia, each with some appropriate exercise. The college students illustrated Loyalty to College, rendering homage to Minerva, goddess of learning, in the guise of the Athena of Velletri.

The various college classes represented important periods in the progress of learning. Thus the Greeks properly did reverence to Athena in the Panathenaic procession—only a part of which, however, proved practical to reproduce. As far as possible every effort was made to keep both details and spirit true to classical Greek models.

With a class of thirty-one, the procession was led by a flute-player—a maiden with the double flute—followed by two aged priests bearing staves in their hands, and four old men (*θαλλοφόροι*) with olive boughs. These six men wore the chiton and himation and partially copied the appearance of similar characters in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* as presented at Dartmouth College last June. Eight young men wore short-girded chitons with the chlamys (copied from the Parthenon frieze) and bore shields and spears (modeled after those in the sculptures of the west gable of the Aegina temple). Their hair was dressed as if short and curly with a single fillet, much like that of the Athena Lemnia. Four matrons wore long Doric chitons with the himation drawn over the head and their hair arranged in the fashion of the Demeter of

Cnidus. Following these came the peplos-bearer alone, carrying the saffron-colored peplos which she had herself designed and embroidered for the occasion. She led the line of the *καρηφόροι*, who were dressed in Doric chitons, wearing their hair with the double fillet in the well-known Greek style, for which the Cnidian Aphrodite served as a model. The first two maidens bore in their right hands bronze pitchers for the wine and oil of the sacrifice and in their left the sacrificial saucer. The next two carried on their heads baskets of cakes for the sacrifice; the next two, round, vine-wreathed baskets of fruit; while the last five held long-handled baskets of flowers. The procession moved from the east portico to the main entrance, then, filing across the campus, the participants took their places in a long double line facing the goddess. Through the center of this line the peplos-bearer advanced to the steps on which stood the priests, to one of whom she presented the peplos, while he passed it to the other priest, who in turn placed it upon the shoulder of Athena. All then proceeded to their positions in the pageant assembly beside and below the throne of Minerva.

The motive for the Roman ceremony in honor of Minerva was taken from Ovid's account of the *Quinquatrus* (*Fasti* iii, 809-34). Their stately procession approached Minerva in a way somewhat similar to that of the Greeks; their costumes, too, were carefully designed and draped, as far as possible, in true Roman fashion; with vine-wreathed heads, in festal array, they bore symbols of the fine arts, sciences, and the household arts and crafts over which Minerva presides, as described in the poem of Ovid. Even to the uninitiated these two processions were of great dignity and beauty and of academic character befitting the occasion. The students gained at least some familiarity with the great works of art in sculpture and vase-painting whose pictures they had studied in preparation for the exhibition.

The next class, as monks in processional, chanted selected stanzas of an old Latin hymn in use from the tenth century or earlier, the "*Veni, creator spiritus*"; while last came the twentieth-century college women in cap and gown. Their president addressed Pallas Athene with a prayer that, as patron deity of learning, she be propitious to this college founded in her honor and now offered in fresh consecration to her service. This portion of the ceremony closed with a hymn to Minerva composed for the occasion and sung by the entire body of college students.

Colorado

Denver University.—On May 5 the students of Denver University presented Terence's *Heauton Timoroumenos* in classical costume and in the Latin tongue. The work was done under the direction of Professor Harrup.

California

University of California.—Professor Bernard Moses has recently become professor *emeritus*. On the occasion of his retirement from active service his colleagues and friends at Berkeley gave a dinner in his honor.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Pursuant to a call issued by a self-appointed committee of seven, representing classical instruction in the states of Washington and Oregon, a conference was held in Portland, June 16 and 17, resulting in the organization of the Classical Association of the Pacific Northwest. Despite the hurried arrangements and the inopportune time, as examinations and commencements were quite generally in progress, the conference was a representative one and successfully accomplished the purpose for which it had been summoned. There were four sessions in all, the one of Friday evening in connection with a dinner at the Imperial Hotel. A special feature of Saturday morning's conference was the address by Professor Frank C. Taylor, of Pacific University, chairman of the call-committee, on "The Twofold Problem of our Educational System."

The following papers were read and discussed:

"Syntactical Discipline and Methodic Instruction, Illustrated by Examples from Lysias," Vice-President Louis F. Anderson, Whitman College.

"By-Paths in Caesarean Bibliography," Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon.

"The Old Education and the New," J. C. Hazzard, formerly of Portland Academy.

"The Religious Life of the People as Portrayed in Plautus and Terence," Arthur P. McKinlay, Lincoln High School, Portland.

"Greek as a Pastime," Edwin Sherwood, Willamette University.

"Browning's Translation of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*," Thomas K. Sidey, University of Washington.

"Some Phases in the Development of the Greek Constitutions," John Straub, University of Oregon.

"Experiments in Teaching Elementary Greek," Otis J. Todd, Whitman College.

The following papers were read by title: "*The Lex Aquilia*," Alvin E. Evans, State College of Washington (Pullman); "Echoes of the Olympic Games in Homer and Their Bearing upon the Date of the Poems," A. S. Hagggett, University of Washington; "Some Notes on the *Moretum* as a Basis for a Twentieth-Century Pantomime," Andrew Oliver, Broadway High School, Seattle; "The Singular Use of *nos*," David Thomson, University of Washington.

In accordance with the constitution as adopted, the following officers were elected for the ensuing term: President, Louis F. Anderson, Whitman College; vice-president, David Thomson, University of Washington; secretary-treasurer, Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon. Four members of the Executive Committee: Frank C. Taylor, Pacific University; Edwin Sherwood, Willamette University; Miss Isabel W. Wallace, Portland Academy; Thomas K. Sidey, University of Washington.

The University of Washington is to be the host of the second session of the Association during the Christmas holidays of 1911.

The secretary was instructed to confer with the Classical Association of the Middle West and South regarding the adoption of the *Classical Journal* as the official organ of the Northwest also.

Book Reviews

Selections from the Greek Papyri. Edited with Translations and Notes. By GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D., Minister of Caputh, Perthshire. The Cambridge University Press, 1910. Pp. xxxii+152. \$1.50.

The recent finds of papyrus documents in Egypt have been so numerous and important as to give rise to a distinctively new branch of classical study. It is well-nigh impossible for anyone but a professed papyrologist to keep thoroughly informed on all that is being accomplished in this field. To be sure, a vast number of the documents have been deciphered and published, but the volumes are, for the most part, large and expensive and are to be found only in well-equipped libraries. Even for many college teachers it has been difficult to acquire a knowledge of the exact nature of these finds.

This volume contains a brief but excellent introduction dealing with the papyrus discoveries and their significance. Then follow the text and translation, with notes, of 55 selections. The editor has confined himself to non-literary pieces which give a wonderfully vivid picture of the daily life of the times concerned.

The scope and variety of subject-matter may be gathered from the following titles selected at random from the book: "A Marriage Contract," "Epicurus to a Child," "Letter of Introduction," "Deed of Divorce," "Census Return," "Letter Describing a Journey up the Nile," "A Will," "Notice of Birth," "Notice of Death," "Invitation to Dinner," "Certificate of Pagan Sacrifice," "An Early Christian Letter," "A Christian Prayer." These range in date from 311-310 B.C. to the sixth century of our era.

Of special interest may be mentioned the "Marriage Contract" of 311-310 B.C. which is the oldest dated document of its class. The rights herein guaranteed the woman are remarkable. The "Letter of Epicurus to a Child" (from Herculaneum) is by the famous philosopher and gives us a charming glimpse of the "man behind the philosophy." The "Certificate of Pagan Sacrifice" is of great interest in connection with Pliny's well-known letter to Trajan concerning the trial of Christians. That such certificates were issued was known from Cyprianus (Ep. 55), the Christian writer of the third century. He points out that during the bitter persecution of Christians by Decius, magistrates were not infrequently bribed by Christians who thus obtained false certificates stating that they had sacrificed to the pagan gods. Several of these certificates attesting compliance with this demand have now

been discovered and appear to have been written according to a regular legal form.

The volume should appeal not only to the classical student but to anyone interested in ancient life. To the student of the New Testament it will be specially illuminating.

G. C. SCOGGIN

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Selections from the Latin Literature of the Early Empire. Edited by A. C. B. BROWN, Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Part A: "Inner Life"; Part B: "Outer Life." Oxford: Henry Frowde, 1910. Crown 8vo, pp. 128+128. Price 60 cents each; in one volume, \$1.10.

We have here presented in attractive form an interesting set of selections illustrating many phases of the "inner" and the "outer" life of the Empire. Part I is made up of 19 passages from Tacitus, Juvenal, Pliny, Ovid, and Horace arranged under the headings "Politics," "Education," "Literature," and "Philosophy"; Part II of 28 passages from Horace, Juvenal, Martial, Pliny, and Petronius covering "Social Types," "Social Incidents," and "Town and Country." About one-half of the work consists of Latin text, so that the sum total is not inconsiderable. The selections are made with taste and discrimination for the most part, though it is obviously impossible to please everybody. Somewhat surprising is the failure to include anything at all from the Moral Essays of Seneca under the caption "Philosophy," and it is unfortunate that this author should be represented here by the *Ludus* alone, a work which gives no very exalted impression either of his wit or of his taste, and none at all of his real merits. Perhaps, too, room might have been made for some of the chatty but very significant anecdotes of Suetonius by curtailing somewhat the long and rather numerous selections from Juvenal. Mr. Brown evidently feels that the political situation was on the whole profoundly gloomy, all but one of the six extracts under "Politics" casting a very somber hue. To be sure the other side of the shield is not so frequently nor so tellingly illustrated in literature, but we have without doubt too long and too exclusively looked at the first Caesars through the spectacles of the senatorial opposition.

The selections were made to serve as a textbook for the Oxford Local Examinations. How successfully they attain their object it is not for an American reviewer to say. Under the conditions that prevail in this country, however, they could be used with profit only by classes well along in their undergraduate course, for there is a striking lack of all grammatical aids and explanations to which American students have grown accustomed. However much we may sympathize with the editor in his general view—"The best

way of dealing with questions of syntax is to refer to one's grammar. The scope of the notes is therefore limited to the explanation of the subject-matter. An attempt has been made to exclude from them such things as may be discovered by anyone who is prepared to use both his dictionary and his wits"—Mr. Brown has gone perhaps too far therein. Anything like assistance in translation is very rarely given indeed even for Juvenal and Tacitus, though, of course, some aids must be given for Petronius. Once the sentence order is reconstructed (Horace, *Serm.* i. 5. 87-88), but even such an oddity as *laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto* is completely passed over, although most students of my acquaintance are apt to balk at it. Not infrequently long passages have not a single note of any sort; so, e.g., two whole pages of Pliny in Part I, while three pages of the *Dialogus* have only a single observation. On the other hand Mr. Brown seems to be unable to take for granted even the most rudimentary knowledge of Greek and Roman history, his notes on this subject being numerous and full. Surprising too is the absence of any reference to meter or prosody despite the inclusion of the elegiac distich and the hendecasyllable, though doubtless these matters too can be looked up in grammars and dictionaries. Mr. Brown evidently dislikes the terms "emperor" and "reign," substituting *princeps* and *principate* for them almost everywhere except in the very title of the book. It is questionable if much be gained by using the more technical word, especially if you have to be inconsistent. We all speak of "consuls" in early Roman history though it is perfectly well known that for a long time these officers were really called "praetors."

Positive errors are very few. The twelfth book of Martial's *Epigrams*, however, quite certainly does not date from 96 A.D., but from 101-102. Such a statement as "a Roman exile was outside the pale of civilization" (p. 46) requires modification. The note on *coactor* (I, p. 60) is an unfortunate abbreviation of Wickham's at best unsatisfactory statement. There is really little room to doubt that Horace's father was an auctioneer, i.e., *coactor argentearius*. Cf. Ps. Acron and Porphyrio *ad loc.* (*Serm.* i. 6. 86), and *coactor* in Pauly-Wissowa. But to emphasize trifles of this sort would create a false impression of the book, which is one of sound if not showy learning throughout. It can be unhesitatingly recommended as an excellent selection from the best authors for rapid reading in class, or for supplementary reading in courses on Roman history or private life.

Misprints are rare, the only really confusing one noted being "formed" for "farmed" (I, p. 60). The unusual plan of having the notes follow each selection upon a separate page has caused not a little space to be wasted (for example, the material upon pp. 45-48 of Part II could easily have been printed upon a single page), and detracts somewhat from the appearance of the book.

W. A. OLDFATHER

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Caesar's "*Gallic War*." Translated by REV. F. P. LONG, M.A.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Price 3s. 6d.

Most of the poetical works of well-known authors have been rendered in excellent English translations, that is, in translations which express the thought of the Latin author in smooth, idiomatic English. This much cannot be said of Latin prose productions. For example, those who up to this time have made translations of Caesar's *Gallic War* seem to have done so with a view to making salable books by providing students' helps in interpreting the intricacies of the Latin diction.

It is gratifying, therefore, to note the appearance of a book whose purpose is to furnish the English reader with the story of the Gallic War, as related by Caesar, in a delightful English style. Such a translation is that of Rev. F. P. Long. The book is not a translation in the sense in which that word is generally used. It is rather a free paraphrase; for the author's aim was evidently not only to render freely what Caesar actually expressed, but also to insert much that is implied in the context. In fact this tendency to insert ideas is carried so far that often it is questionable whether Caesar intended to convey the idea expressed in the translation: e.g., Book i, chap. 20: "At these words Divitiacus, completely broken down, and falling at Caesar's knees, pleaded passionately," etc. Book iii, chap. 22: "From another quarter of the town a *treacherous* attempt at escape was made," etc. This tendency toward interpolation pervades the book.

Occasionally the author fails to express Caesar's thought, e.g., Book iii, chap. 22. The translator's idea about "pairs" in reference to the "soldurri" does not seem justified.

The author makes an occasional slip in English, such as will happen from the fact that the book is a translation, e.g., Book i, chap. 1: "*Between* these three divisions there exist fundamental differences *both* of language, customs, and political organizations."

The general character of the translation is revealed in the first sentence of the book: "The country known collectively as Gaul presents in reality three distinct divisions, inhabited respectively by the Belgae, the Aquitani, and a race which, though commonly described by us as Gauls, is known in the vernacular as Celts."

The book will furnish delightful reading for those who wish to become familiar with Caesar's account of the Gallic War and who are not fortunate enough to be able to read it in the original. Those too will find pleasure and profit in the work who may want hints as to how beautifully and idiomatically Caesar's statements can be rendered in English.

The value of the book is enhanced by maps which give the modern as well as the ancient Gallic geographical names.

DANIEL W. LOTHMAN

CLEVELAND, OHIO